they do not exercise the influence, economic as well as social, in the community of those of larger estates. Without enumerating the list of the "rich," the two wealthiest persons in Rawanduz, together with the types of their property, are given here:

Sa'id Effendi:	1 house, 1 shop, money
Ma'ruf Ibrahim:	2 houses, 1 shop, money
Ma'ruf Mohammed Amin:	2 houses, 1 shop, money
Hajji Mustafa Khalil:	1 house, money
Beli Khan:	9 villages (including Qaimal, land, many houses, about 20 shops, money
Mirt Hamid Agha:	1 village, land, 1 house
Sa'id Effendi:	land, 4 houses
Hadji Agha:	1 village, 1 house
Hajjia Malika:	2 shops, 1 house, money
Ghafur Effendi:	1 village, land, 1 house

"Money," of course, here represents cash capital, and a "village" includes not only houses, but agricultural lands. It would be difficult to form any estimate of the fortunes involved, because, among other reasons, a single large building can have a greater value than a number of smaller plots totalling the same size. Similarly, a concentrated sum of money can be worth more in certain situations than its equivalent in agricultural lands, although most people in Iraq prefer to believe that this is not true. In any case, the holdings of such a person as Beli Khan, while they cannot compare with some of the immense estates of southern Iraq, represent many thousands of dinars. That these persons have their residence in Rawanduz adds to the importance of the town, quite apart from its role as a mercantile center, and many people in the town gain their livelihood wholly or in part from their service.

its lifetime, but it is difficult to see, in view of the 423
inalienable character of the civil code reinforced by 426
scripture, how one half might be completely cut off in
favor of another, and no exception could be elicited. If 428
a man wished to disinherit all his relatives, a doubtful
event, he could do this best by leaving his property to
the Islamic faith, making of it a waqf or pious bequest,
a legacy which is just as hard to get around as the
equality of the claims of sons.

The bulk of the estate, animals, houses, land, 427
tools, or capital, is commonly owned by males, although 562
there is no reason why a woman cannot possess them as well.
Hali Khan, since the death of Isma'il Beg and the imprison-
ment of her almost sole relatives, offers a case in
point. Generally speaking, however, the outstanding
property of most women consists of a dowry, jewelry, and
household goods. The dowry (mahr, from Arabic) in the 583
generality of Islamic society, and at Kwesukum, is paid in 421
money by the bridegroom to the father or guardian of the
girl. It consists of two parts, the muqaddam and the
mu'akhar, stipulated in the contract of marriage. The
first, a half or two-thirds of the total amount, is paid
in cash at the time the marriage contract is signed to
the parent of the bride who is responsible for its adminis-
tration. The second part, the remainder of the sum, must [586]
be paid to the woman if she is divorced against her will
or widowed. As might be expected, it is not required for

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a husband to honor this second amount if the contract is broken before the marriage has commenced or if the woman, for some reason, abandons the house of her spouse. In Rwanda, in contrast to other areas, the father of the bride is expected to double the first portion of the dowry, the gishingo, from his own resources, and the money that realized is given into the hands of the maiden. "The money of the marriage is for the girl," it was related, "and it is an evil and impious person who withholds it from her. There are even bad fathers who eat up their daughters' dowries." The dowry of a girl of the lowest townspeople in Rwanda is at least 20 or 30 francs [$4.00 or $6.00] and that of daughters of the wealthier families or the aristocrats is much greater.

It must be realized that the amount of a dowry is also a sign of social status, and to this end the figures written into the marriage contract often have more prestige than reality behind them. A number of discussions of this point have been heard in the Middle East, and one of these, similar to those recorded in Rwanda but perhaps more aptly expressed, was the expostulation of an English-speaking teacher, one Shams al-Dauti, in Egypt. "When, as a youth, I returned to my parents' town from the university in Cairo," he said, "I was called upon to negotiate the dowry of a maiden whom my younger brother wished to marry. Her relatives, when I spoke with them, named a figure so extravagant I could hardly credit my ears. I told them it was improper to bargain for a girl, and that, although I

A Hanerwoud Ayle, normally a close relative of the leader of the majority, would be appointed to the conquered village. He would live permanently in the village with a small group of Hanerwoud supporters. When members of the local race show their capabilities and were satisfied would be passed on to the Ayle leader of the original party.

Conflicts rarely arose between the Hanerwoud usurper and his original leader. As soon as the balance of power changed in favor of the former, and he further felt that he would be able to control the conquered village with his own forces, he would declare himself independent and thereby found a new lineage branch.

It may seem surprising that the smaller group in such a village should be successful in forcibly dominating the larger group for any length of time. As far as the conquest itself is concerned, the point was clearly made to me by the leader of one group of subjected serfs: «In those days, people were so busy with their farms and things, they had no time to be ready with guns and horses. Those who had enough money to feed the men that ride around on horses could conquer such poor villagers.» And later, although the local Hanerwoud may have declared themselves independent of their old village, they could still count on support from their fellow villagers in case of revolt. The peasants, on the other hand, had no organization overgrowing a larger group. Furthermore, it is the peasant group who has the vested interest in peace, so that the crop can ripen and the cows survive. In case of conflict, the Hanerwoud risked only the loss of his men, whereas the peasants, no matter what the outcome might be, were practically around the loss of their whole year's crop.

The local group that emerged from these conquests has a very characteristic structure and organization. Except where external administration intervenes effectively, all political power is in the hands of a well organized Hanerwoud minority, led by an hereditary Ayle. This ruling group has vested interests in remaining separate from the remainder of the village, and the close tribal organization limited by decree provides the necessary mechanism.

This political dominance serves primarily to enforce certain privileges in the economic field. The Hanerwoud regard themselves as

• 6.11 the owners of the land, and either in cash or by the traditionally stipulated
6.12 fraction of the peasants' crop: 1/5—1/10 of the cereal crop, 1/3 of the irrigated crop, where such is grown. Usually the Hanoverand section of the village is too large to live entirely on these taxes, and since raiding activities are no longer possible (or have not as yet been, though they are still accused especially of cattle-theft by their neighbors), they find it necessary to supplement its subsistence by farming. The Hanoverand farmers hold land as private, inheritable property. They recognize the rights of some of non-tribal peasants to inherit the cultivation rights to specific fields from their fathers, but where the situation permits, such rights may easily be infringed upon.

6.21 A third group in the locality present in the village, consisting of laborers, generally of alien origin. This group is in a similar economic position to that of laborers in the ordinary Yemen village, with the exception that upward mobility is virtually impossible. Neither of the two conflicting groups, the Hanoverand or the subjected Bindjin, are willing to weaken their position by transferring the rights on land to any outside group, and the laborers can therefore never procure the necessary land to rise to owner farmer status, even when given the economic means.

The economic conflict between the Hanoverand and the Bindjin is more intense now than before external administration pacified the area. Formerly, the relation was more nearly one of symbiosis. The peasants, by being attached to a militarily powerful tribe, were in fact protected from the raids of other war-parties in return for the tax they paid. Furthermore, they benefited from the raids of their Hanoverand lords by serving as intermediaries in realizing the value of the loot. The Hanoverands themselves could not enter the Bazaars of the towns, for fear of being recognized. The peasants, on the other hand, were free to enter the markets and sell the goods — for a consideration. If their war-lords were at all successful, the income from such transactions might well more than balance the rental tax paid on the farmland.

As a result of the persistent tensions between the two groups, and the close Athenian co-existence, very little, if any, inter-

B: Leach E-S (1950) 1960 Will Kurd Will
Kinship

suppose that the same applies here we mentioned without an adequate appreciation of the sociological significance of kinship. The following quotation illustrates the position of the Ajar as understood by Bal.

The Kurd is reasonable enough:-

(p. 40) a tribe is a community or federation of communities which exists for the protection of its members against external aggression and for the maintenance of the old social customs and standards of life. When tribes have no recognised chiefs none have sway.

The second is more hypothetical:-

(p. 40/41) The position of the chief varies greatly in different tribes. In the remote ancestor, though granted the most sweeping attributes, he is customarily one of the kinsmen, the leading member of a family which has won its leadership through military prowess. Later when he often belongs to an entirely separate caste, and comes from a different stock to the tribesmen. The large tribes are divided into sections, and in different tribes we find many sections with the same names. This points to the fact that the sections represent the original clans of the unit, while the present chiefs belong to powerful families who have invaded their domains and crowned their leaders. This is probably the case with the Kurd, where nearly all the land belongs to one powerful family, against which a few old tribal Agha and landowners still maintain an unequal struggle. Here the chief is a landlord, and the system that prevails is feudal rather than tribal.

The statements that in the Turkish and Persian areas the Aghas are frequently of different stock to their villagers is valid and has already been commented upon in Chapter 1. The idea that the tribes "represent the original clans of the soil", while the government tribal Aghas are conquering overlords is more fantasy, while as for the Kurd the facts seem to be that the tribe itself is "all one family" [while] while the land is mostly held by town dwelling landlords who have no kinship affiliations with the Kurd at all. While this change distinctions between Agha and tenant is valid for the plains area, it does not apply to the tribal districts. The following for instance is quite standard:-

(Bal., p. 47) In the bigger tribes the Aghas, whose families have for many generations been entirely disassociated from manual labour, are of a far finer type than the peasants.

[illegible] that there will be any serious modification of the existing type of plough, or any move to the hill country.

Threshing

For threshing the hill people use an instrument of wood, the sprits are mainly mixed wood but wood on the plain areas whilst the shaft is reduced to a fine shaft and the upper fine diameter with a fork to a light steel (see photographs). The process of threshing takes an immense time, often lasting from July to late October, any material change in the economic progression of the village - such as a switch over from rice to tobacco - must as I have shown be dependent on the extent to which this process of threshing can be speeded up.

A circumstance that I find very puzzling is that throughout the plains area, - where the chief harvest on many farms - can be made of a relatively advanced "threshing machine". This consists of a large drum shaft (see photograph) to the underside of which is attached a rotating set of metal blades for winning up the shaft. The apparatus is very simple and are, one would have thought, widely applicable. But the natives have resisted that this device be put found in the hill country except occasion on all, though the advantages seem to me quite plain to all.

The only explanation I could get was that in the hill country the short production was not great enough to make the more efficient method worth while; the argument seemed to be that as long as the threshing got finished before the rains came in November it was good enough. Whatever the real reason it seems likely that there must be some modification of existing threshing methods if there is ever any radical extension of the tobacco cultivation.

Land Utilization

The actual lay-out of the cultivation is primarily determined by the topography of each individual village. Rice, tobacco, fruit and vegetable cultivations are permanently sited, their position being determined by the lay-out of the irrigation system. The sheet on the other land is worked on a two year cycle as noted already. The diagram [illegible] roughly the lay-out of cultivation in Pulmah at the time of my visit. It will be noted that all the fallow lies on one side of the stream and all the [illegible] about crop on the other. Nothing corresponding to this neat symmetry could be observed in the other villages I visited. It emphasizes the fact however that the holdings of individual cultivators are not necessarily all in one piece; - in Pulmah obviously each working group does have approximately an equal area of land on either side of the stream. I thought at first that there might be some system of rotating land to different individuals cultivators in successive years but my informants

[See page 75 -- Ruelpo]

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[illegible] this. My information however on the actual topographical arrangement of individual buildings is definitely unsatisfactory. From the evidence it would appear that each working group of engineers must have had to separate plots at least the following: one patch of vegetable garden, one patch of tobacco cultivation, one patch of short and one patch of fallow. But my informants were inconsistent the positions to be in this manner. The problem is linked up with the question of subsistence consuming which my field data evidence is very slight. As I have stated, it appears that on fair or land is concerned the cultivators of the Korea have recently over a cultural existence. Several informants that the right to landlords has a cultural right to determine precisely the subsistence of land tenure among the tenants, so as which for Korea alone has this model not to practice.

Korea

The Korea cultivation rests usually in the personal property of the kgha - this being true at least for Malaya, Egypt and Bengal. It did not however that particular individuals are responsible for this cultivation or that they are recognizable. It is extremely hard to understand why in a village such as Malaya this cultivation is not turned over to laborers. Health delayed actually complained to me that one of the reasons he was so badly off compared with the enemy the War of Bengala was that the latter owing to better water supplies was able to grow as much more tobacco. Economic political reasons for this concentrate have been suggested in a previous section; another reason is psychological - from the Korean point of view it just is not usual to go short of food and rely on the proceeds of a cash crop to make up deficiencies. In this perhaps the Egbo show remarkable conservatism (foresight).

The Mill

An institution which I have so far neglected but which is of more than merely technological significance is the mill. There is a mill associated with nearly all the larger villages. There are mills at Bengala, Egypt and Bengo. Malaya has none but there is one at Bengarbon. All are worked on the same principle which technologically speaking is very eloquent. As may be seen from the diagrams and photographs the machine is worked on a horizontal turbine and thus uses the "velocity" head of the water instead of the weight as in the more usual types of water wheel. This has various technical advantages - for instance it dispenses of the necessity for any gearing - and if the apparatus were "precision made" there is no reason why it should not be highly efficient. Actually the quality of the workmanship makes it impossible to work the machine at any great speed and the output is limited to about ½ ton of flour in 24 hours, working continuously. The operation of the machine is quite automatic and once started it requires only the visitor of attention.